

"WILSON INTERVENED TO DESTROY AND NOT TO PRESERVE"

Lives and Rights of Americans Set Aside That President Might Show Huerta He Was Not to Be Defied

(Continued From Preceding Page.)

ment should note the above, as such action should be taken by the United States in advance of Great Britain and a restraining influence should be exercised on that nation if it is the intention of our Government not to recognize."

Again on April 8 he sent this despatch:

"Referring to the Department's No. 158, yesterday the British, French, Italian, German, Austrian, Norwegian and Spanish diplomatic representatives met in the embassy to consider the question of the attitude of the diplomatic corps relative to the settlement of claims questions growing out of the revolutions since 1910. A paraphrase of the telegram above mentioned was laid before the meeting and the opinion was unanimous, after discussion and explanation, that all should support our proposition."

"A common form of telegram was addressed to each of the interested Governments by its diplomatic representative here, except the British representative, who had already received instructions to support our proposal, was drawn up. I later interviewed the provisional President and Mr. de la Barra relative to other matters, and informally mentioned the attitude which the Government referred to would probably take on the question of claims. While the President made no comment Mr. de la Barra again urged the acceptance of the plan outlined in my telegram."

"When the replies from the home Governments are received the diplomatic corps will meet again. Because they did not learn of the meeting in time the Japanese and Chinese representatives did not attend, but they were fully advised afterward. As the Latin American countries have no claims, so far as is known, none of them participated. Furthermore it was believed that perhaps their attitude might not be in accord with the action proposed."

The last paragraph of the note is interesting because it shows the attitude of the Latin American countries. Mexico and the other Powers did not consider them enough even to invite their participation in a settlement. Later President Wilson called only the Latin American countries into consultation—that is, he called only those who had no interests in Mexico together to settle Mexican questions. The failure of the Government at Washington to recognize Huerta soon began to have consequences. One of them is described in a despatch sent by Ambassador Wilson on April 9:

"The Government has quickly suppressed a few outbreaks which have occurred in the south, the revolts being principally Maderista volunteers. It appears that in the north when the Federals have come in contact with the rebels the latter have been defeated ignominiously. They separate into small bands afterward and do great harm to the haciendas and railroads."

"From considerations relating to the peace and good will of this continent, but without being advised of the policy of our Government, I consider it my duty to inform the Department that the provisional Government should have the earnest moral support and assistance of the Government of the United States, on the high grounds of international policy, American interests, and the procurement of peace and order in Mexico. I have due regard for our proposals for an international claims commission, which, while vast in importance, are not so vital, as responsibility has been accepted in principle, as the restoration of peace and order in the unfortunate country of Mexico."

"His question came up, that relating to the stay in Mexican waters of American war vessels. On April 12 Ambassador Wilson telegraphed:

"I have just received a note from Mr. de la Barra requesting me to secure a reply from the Department of State relative to the American war vessels remaining in Mexican ports as they have already remained beyond the time permitted by Mexican law (See Embassy's telegram from Vera Cruz). He further states that if the representatives of the press should take notice of these provisions of the Mexican law, which are imperative in this case and leave no discretion to the Government concerning the strict watch it should exercise in the performance of its duties, the Mexican Government would be greatly embarrassed."

But no reply came to this telegram or to that of March 18, though both of vital importance. In the meantime the settlement of all American claims was at issue. In the second matter of our warships remaining in Mexican waters was involved. Under the Mexican law foreign warships could remain only a certain period in a Mexican port and when that period had expired it became the duty of the Government to expel them. In the case of the settlement of the American claims the failure of the American Government to placate the Mexicans in some way forced them into the position where they must either declare war or abandon their Government. The United States, by inaction, was forcing a crisis.

In spite of the silence of Washington, Ambassador Wilson continued his efforts. On April 14 he sent the following despatch:

"With the exception that there have been some unimportant outbreaks quickly suppressed in the states of Mexico and Guerrero and that Zapata still remains a menace, conditions remain practically as reported in my telegram. Troops are being withdrawn from Mexico to deal aggressively with Zapata, but nothing can be predicted. At this moment the great absorbing question is the economic one. Today exchange rose to 255, which would indicate a possible financial crisis, although this is not certain. Peace might be restored and this Government might be able to maintain itself if the department could do anything toward helping Mexico negotiate a loan at this time."

"While I am not ready to suggest the manner of giving such aid, not being in possession of the Department's views, any procedure which will enable this Government to live probably will prevent highly detrimental consequences to the peace of this continent and to the safety and interests of Americans living in

Mexico. The new Government finds itself facing a revolution and without resources to meet its obligations to the army, as the Madero administration left the finances of the country in an unsatisfactory condition."

Formal recognition of the provisional Government had already been accorded by England and Spain, who were shortly followed by Germany, France, Italy and other European and South American countries. The United States and two other countries alone refused recognition. These two other countries withheld recognition solely because of their agreement with Ambassador Wilson that they would follow the lead of the United States.

"The policy which President Wilson adopted, for the time being," said Mr. Wilson, "was to do nothing—and this at a time when clear headed action was desperately needed."

"Take Carranza as an example. He had been in rebellion and had been quite ready to quit whenever certain disagreeable incidents were marked as officially closed. While President Wilson held off from a reply to the agreement by President Huerta to all the American demands, Carranza became over night a patriot with a platform which might have been written by President Wilson himself, so inclusively did it embrace all his favorite maxims."

"I had wired for instructions concerning the acceptance on March 18. On March 26, while I was waiting the word which never came, Carranza and sixty-four of his officers made his bid to Washington with the 'Plan of Guadalupe.' He was then about one jump ahead of the Federal troops, but his agents in Washington were unimpaired and active."

"I have been informed that this plan was written in Washington and that it was published in the United States before its supposed signer knew the contents. On this point I have no personal nor positive information."

"This policy was already producing its results in the gradual weakening of the provisional Government. The general peace in Mexico became more and more remote as President Wilson weakened the provisional Government and supported its opponents. He prated smugly of non-interference with Mexico and at the same time devised every effort to overthrow organized Government. When he found that the Government was too strong to be dislodged by all the outside pressure which he could put on it—even when he armed the bandits to fight it—he sent the fleet and army of the United States to destroy the remnants of the last capable Government which Mexico will have for many years."

"President Wilson, as the official record shows, intervened in Mexico from the very beginning. But he intervened only in a disingenuous way. He intervened to destroy and not to preserve. The talk of President Wilson has been constructive; his acts in Mexico have been, without exception, destructive. He discouraged law, order and prosperity because the policy leading to such results had the support of his political opponents in the United States."

"It is difficult to discover anything approaching a policy in President Wilson's actions toward Mexico. And the difficulty is due to the fact that opportunism in the United States has been his single guide."

"Look at the circumstances under which Woodrow Wilson took office. He pledged generally to create a foreign policy which might be anything so long as it reversed the policy of his predecessor."

"He believed with Bryan that the people of the United States would be pleased to see him act in a sloppy sentimental way to all foreign nations. One of his first acts was to declare against the so-called dollar diplomacy. The United States was to be a nation alone and unto itself and without the sordid realms of trade—smug and provincial. In these matters the Administration has completely reversed itself since that time."

"Bryan had made a success of this character. Bryan controlled the Democratic party and had elected Wilson. Therefore President Wilson, as is his wont, borrowed the popular thunder."

"It is a characteristic of President Wilson that he is always receptive to information which happens to support his convictions of the moment. He had the Mexican information right at hand in the United States and of any brand he fancied. The so-called Madero followers were swarming about Washington, and being well supplied with funds, they were amply able to afford to hire men in this country to disseminate exactly the sort of news that President Wilson was looking for."

"President Wilson saw the chance to pose as the apostle of democracy to the heathen—to say fine words about serving humanity. The Mexican out at once took the cue. Carranza in the Plan of Guadalupe repudiated President Huerta and declared a general election. Huerta repudiated Carranza because Huerta had repudiated him."

"The rhetoric of the dead Madero was used upon President Wilson with splendid effect. In fact there are strong points of similarity between Madero, Carranza and Wilson. The same inordinate fondness for words, the same alternately bellicose and pacific moods, the same dread of positive action characterize the public actions of the three of them. And then there is a certain common feline trait. A cat waits before a closed door, but when the door is finally opened the cat will enter only after the war of hisses and growls. It will decide that it does not want to come in after all."

"The first stage of the President's Mexican policy, however evolved, was to eliminate Huerta and organized government. I pointed out the consequences of this policy in my despatches; hundreds of Americans with experience in Mexico did likewise."



•• LEFT WHERE THEY FELL—TYPICAL STREET SCENE WHERE THE REVOLUTIONISTS HAD PASSED.

been and is either to trust their diplomatic representatives or to recall them. The facts which I gave were facts well known to every American, regardless of party, who had the slightest knowledge of Mexico. The facts could have been confirmed from a thousand sources."

"I saw the President to-day at his request. He said that he had been wanting to have a consultation with me for some time relative to the delayed recognition of this Government by the Government of the United States."

"I said to him that, believing that the interests of our own country as well as those of Mexico were involved in the early recognition of the latter by the former, I had made repeated representations to Washington urging the resumption of full and cordial official relations, but that neither the Department of State nor the President covered no matter what the cost, are shown in my despatches."

"I do not take prophetic credit for these despatches. I warned of the consequences because any man who knew Mexico knew that these consequences were inevitable. I warned them that the policy would lead to such a condition of anarchy that it would be a condition of anarchy that would lead to the death of the United States at great cost of life and treasure would follow as a matter of course. The meddlesome, unnamed intervention of President Wilson created, as I then said it would create, a condition of anarchy that will eventually devolve upon the United States to settle."

"A bit of unadvised diplomacy is shown in the following message from Secretary Bryan. A diplomatic representative abroad cannot give attention to a message purporting to come from the State Department unless the message is in the diplomatic code."

"Mexico, April 16. 'This morning the embassy has received a telegram addressed to the American Embassy, Mexico, undated, uncoded and unnumbered, bearing the signature of the Secretary of State, informing the embassy that guards are about to be withdrawn from the Hearst estate and requesting the embassy to take action in the premises. I beg to be further instructed, as, owing to the above facts, the authenticity of this message is open to doubt.'"

"Mexico, April 17. 'Urgent representations in the sense of the Department's No. 189 have been made to the provisional Government, and I shall have a personal interview regarding the matter. I have to advise the Department in this connection that a second unnumbered, uncoded and undated telegram, improperly addressed, signed Bryan, relating to the same matter has been received. Of course I cannot identify telegrams as official if sent in this manner, as I have no means of protecting myself against possible misuse of the name of the Secretary of State. Wilson.'"

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United Wisdom of Europe as Expressed by Diplomats Ignored by Administration--Damages May Be Asked

ton was made in the following despatch dated May 18:

"This morning the Associated Press despatches contain what is said to be an official statement, presumably from the Department of State, which is, in effect, that official recognition of Mexico is to be made. With this statement is coupled one to the effect that such action is to be taken on account of the unfriendly relations and difficulties which have arisen."

"Without any knowledge as to what basis this telegram may have in truth, I think it proper to say to the Department that, from a standpoint of policy, this statement should not be heralded recognition. On the other hand, I believe that if recognition is contemplated it should be based upon the setting of a fixed date for the Presidential and Vice-Presidential elections, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution."

"Such action on the part of the Mexican Congress is contemplated during the early days of this week and I urge that I be immediately instructed to state, either officially or unofficially, to this Government an indication that the official recognition of the United States Government will follow as a consequence of the setting of a date for the Presidential elections. I hope that recognition, if contemplated, may be done in this way, for otherwise Mexican public opinion will assume that our Government has accorded recognition as a result of this Government's retaliatory action."

"Six days after the receipt of this urgent message President Wilson announced his policy for the first time. The long and short of the policy was that Gen. Huerta should not run for President and that Mexico should hold something which it had never held in all its history—an election free from restraint and coercion. If this assurance was given, then the President would bring forth the universal Wilson panacea—a conference. In other words, Washington proposed to an independent sovereignty that it confer with its rebels. The comment of Ambassador Wilson is instructive:

"This message was not responsive to my inquiry and it said nothing about the recognition of any government. I was given a wholly impracticable suggestion that was directly contrary to every bit of information which I had sent to Washington. The message was based upon the information supplied by the Mexican insurgents in Washington."

"The offer to aid in effecting an agreement was as futile then as it was later when Carranza was asked to participate in a general conference. If a conference had been called the whole army of the United States would have been necessary to enforce the agreement of the conference."

"Ambassador Wilson, having been three months without instruction on recognition, put the case squarely up to President Wilson in the following message, dated June 9:

"The great and permanent advantages which European nations are securing as a result of our forced inactivity, the hostility and rapidly growing Mexican opinion supported by an almost unanimous resident American opinion; the freedom and persistence with which the rebel forces are claiming our attitude to be a signal of our encouragement and support; the unsuccessful results of many representations for protection of American interests and American life; the vast injury which is being inflicted upon American trade and American prestige, and the increasing difficulty and embarrassment attending the transactions of this embassy—all these are making me feel that the risk of being considered intrusive and insistent I must again urge upon the President that, upon the highest grounds of policy, which in this case I understand to be the cultivation of sentiments of friendship and respect with a neighboring and friendly nation, the restoration of peace and the ending and the extension of our material interests in Mexico, we should without further delay, following the example of all Governments accredited here except two, accord official recognition to the present provisional Government."

"These reports are being republished here and are affecting the prestige and standing of this Embassy, and to-day they are in a measure confirmed by a fresh Associated Press despatch signed 'Stevens,' containing information purporting to emanate from the Department of State to the same effect."

"May 16. 'I am obliged to ask you to immediately present to the President my resignation as Ambassador to Mexico. I take this action after waiting patiently a week for an answer which should have immediately been sent to me in reply to my telegram.'"

"Finally on May 17 Mr. Bryan sent the following reply: 'On May 10, when your telegram arrived, I was absent from the city and until your telegram of today was received, my attention was not called to it. I have just given the following statement to the press and very much regret the delay which has occurred in contradicting the statements to which you refer: 'My attention has just been called to a statement to the effect that the Department of State is investigating the official conduct of Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson, who represents this country at the Mexican capital. I understand that these reports have been republished in Mexico. I hasten to deny the same. They are entirely without foundation.'"

"The Department is not conducting and has not conducted any such investigation, and in denying the statements and all inferences which have been built upon them I desire to add that I cannot understand why any American newspaper would give circulation to such misstatements, knowing as the newspaper must, that they would embarrass a representative of the United States in the performance of official duty while he is dealing with a difficult situation."

"I am directed by the President to say that it is his desire that I withhold your resignation until he can consider it in due course."

"Ambassador Wilson's next attempt to secure instructions from Washington was made in the following despatch dated June 15:

"I saw the President to-day and read to him a paraphrase of my telegram of June 9, 8 P. M., to the Department and a paraphrase of the Department's

reply of June 15, 12 noon. I gave him no copies of either."

"On the question of recognition the President said that it had been a matter of vital importance to Mexico at one time because of difficulties raised by the bankers who were making the loan to Mexico, but now that these difficulties had all been overcome and Mexico has sufficient financial resources to prosecute the war vigorously, while recognition would, of course, be welcomed gladly, it had ceased to be essential."

"I asked him whether he was a partisan of Gen. Diaz (Felix), and he said, 'I am a partisan of the country and of no man. I intend to see that the election shall be honestly carried out and that everybody shall have an equal opportunity.' He also said, 'I am thoroughly tired of this position and will welcome the election as the signal of my release and retirement into private life. I expect to take up my residence in the State of Chihuahua and to place my son in Harvard University, as I believe that all Mexicans should be as well posted in American history, customs and literature as in Mexico.'"

"Wherever Americans may be they gather for a celebration upon the Fourth of July. Such a celebration had always been held in Mexico city; the Americans had always come in from the mines and ranches to pay tribute to the Stars and Stripes and to get in touch with their fellow countrymen. It was the big event of the year among Americans in Mexico and a reminder to Mexicans of the patriotism of Americans."

"President Wilson took this occasion to emphasize the policy, which was later developed more fully, that Americans must not be too patriotic in Mexico and, therefore, must not do anything which might commit their Government. The Ambassador was asked to meet the occasion by a celebration in order to escape the possibility of an American patriotic celebration being construed as a recognition of the de facto Government. The Americans were told that they must not assert their love of native land."

"Here is the illuminating exchange of messages. They are unique in American history."

"Secretary Bryan informed, by telegram, Mr. Wilson as follows: 'Mr. Starr-Hunt has written to the Department relative to a celebration on the Fourth of July in Mexico city. If you regard celebrations safe and advisable, let us know your opinion. As his desire is to have a celebration by Americans in Mexico city on that date, if you agree you may so notify Mr. Hunt.'"

"To which the Ambassador replied: 'With reference to the Department's telegram, 246, I beg to advise that a celebration would be perfectly safe and in all other ways than that stated below, advisable. I advised against the holding of the celebration this year because it seems to me inexpedient in view of the non-recognition of the provisional Government by ours. I said to the committee that it would be embarrassing for me to have to meet the occasion in person in this formal official way and that it would be exceedingly awkward to remain away. Please instruct.'"

"In reply Ambassador Wilson received two messages from Mr. Bryan, as follows: 'With reference to your telegram, 233, the Department has to inform you that under the present circumstances it would appear inadvisable that July 4 be celebrated in any other than a most informal and private way. Saying that the Department hopes nothing will be done which would cause embarrassment, you may so confidentially inform Mr. Starr-Hunt.'"

"Replying to your telegram the Department has decided, in order to avoid any misunderstanding, it is deemed advisable that you find some excuse for being absent from Mexico city on July 4."

"Immediately Ambassador Wilson acted upon instructions and telegraphed Admiral Beatty, at Vera Cruz, as follows: 'For reasons connected with the official attitude of our Government toward this Government I am ordered to go to Vera Cruz on July 4, thus avoiding connection with the celebration here.'"

"Without making reference to this telegram I will be glad if you will with apparent spontaneity renew your invitation to be present with you on the Fourth. I may then use your invitation as a legitimate excuse for not being present at the celebration here."

"The enforced absence of the Ambassador and the omission of the Fourth of July ceremonies," remarks Ambassador Wilson, "confirmed the ignorant Mexican public in the notion that we were afraid of them. The after respect for Americans became less and less, until finally American and coward were synonymous words in the Mexican mind."

"It is highly probable that Gen. Huerta might have fully agreed to refuse to run for President at the next election had not a new element been introduced into the situation by President Wilson. The new element was the first of the series of special personal representatives from President Wilson to Mexico. This was a new departure in American diplomacy and, quite aside from the fact that the President directly usurped the powers of Congress over foreign affairs, was fatally unfortunate."

"The first of these personal representatives was William Bayard Hale, who apparently came to Mexico with his opinions already formed and cut the garment to suit the cloth already measured in Washington. Otherwise Dr. Hale was a very agreeable and cultured gentleman. The other representative, Reginald P. de Valle of California, was evidently despatched by Secretary Bryan for the purpose of checking up Dr. Hale."

"Mr. de Valle was strongly opposed to the Carranza and Villa elements, and formed a poor opinion of the Madero administration and as I have been informed expressed approval of the work I had done. Parenthetically it may be said here that Mr. Hale, Mr. de Valle, Mr. Lind and in fact all the special agents of the President fell into disfavor with him and have publicly expressed disapproval of his course."

(Continued on Eighth Page.)